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ART. VI. — *Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*. Siebente Publication. *Des Bömischen Herrn, Leo's von Rozmital, Ritter-Hof-und-Pilger-Reise durch die Abendlande*, 1465 – 1467. Beschrieben von Zweien seiner Begleiter. [Library of the Literary Society in Stuttgart. Seventh Publication. Travels of the Bohemian Nobleman, Leo von Rozmital, through the Western Countries of Europe, in the Years 1465 – 1467. Described by two of his Companions.] Stuttgart. 1844.

THE Stuttgart "Literarischer Verein" is a society, formed a few years ago, for the purpose of publishing ancient German monuments which have never seen the light before, or which, having been once published, have become, in the course of time, exceedingly rare, or have fallen wholly out of the recognized circle of literature. It embraces many of the most distinguished scholars and antiquarians, who have already rendered good service to the cause of letters, by giving to the world a series of very curious and interesting documents, which illustrate the early history, manners, and modes of life of modern Europe. The plan of the society seems to be something like that of the Camden Club in England, or of the Shakspeare Society, but on a more comprehensive scale. They have already published seven volumes, each of which has been edited with great ability and learning, and all are printed in a style of uncommon excellence. The first publication appeared in 1842, and contained the "Strassburgische Chronik" of Fritsche Closener, a curious chronicle of Strasburg, written in the German language early in the fourteenth century. The second publication came out the following year, and contains a "Life of the Knight Georg von Ehingen," from a manuscript of the fifteenth century; Æneas Sylvius, "De Viris Illustribus"; Ott Ruland's "Handlungsbuch," a very curious book of accounts, kept by the head of a commercial house in the imperial city of Ulm, about the middle of the fifteenth century, which embodies a great variety of items besides those which make up a modern ledger; and the "Codex Hirsauensis," a valuable history of the cloister of Hirsau, containing much important information respecting the powerful houses throughout the southwestern part of Germany, in the

Middle Ages. The work is supposed to have been written at the beginning of the thirteenth century, though the manuscript from which it is printed dates as late as the beginning of the sixteenth. The other works already published are, a Latin account of a journey to the Holy Land, Arabia, and Egypt, made in the latter half of the fifteenth century, by Brother Felix Faber; letters of the Princess Elizabeth Charlotte of Orleans to the Raugravine \* Louise, written between 1676 and 1722, and edited by Wolfgang Menzel; and "*Die Weingartner Liederhandschrift*," or the Weingarten Manuscript of old German Songs, being the first complete publication of one of the most interesting monuments extant of early German poetry. This manuscript dates at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and is ornamented with colored portraits of the principal poets, drawn in the style of the close of the thirteenth century. These portraits, though stiff and rudely designed, are highly characteristic and expressive. Among them, we find the famous names of Kaiser Heinrich, Heinrich von Morungen, Liutolt von Savene, and Walther von der Vogelweide. They are all faithfully copied in the publication of the society. The seventh and last publication is that of which the title stands at the head of the present article. It contains, besides the travels of the Bohemian nobleman, the "*Livländische Reimchronik*," a rhymed chronicle of Livonia, of great value, particularly in relation to the early history of the manners and customs of the Livonians. It extends to nearly thirteen thousand verses.

The object of the present article, however, is to give some account of the travels, adventures, and perils of the Herr von Rozmital, as they are chronicled in the two documents contained in the first half of the society's last publication. This nobleman was the brother-in-law of the reigning king of Bohemia, George von Podiebrad, who, having been regent, was raised to the throne by popular election in 1458, was excommunicated by the pope in 1469, and closed his troubled life in 1471. The Herr von Rozmital was undoubtedly intrusted by his brother-in-law with commissions of a political nature, as the journey was undertaken when

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\* An extinct title belonging to some noble families on the Rhine.

the difficulties of George were at their height, and just before he fell under the ban of the Church.

But the political objects of the mission, if such there were, do not distinctly appear in either of the two records now before us. They are both occupied with details of the journey, incidental notices of the manners and customs of the countries through which the travellers passed, pious descriptions of miracles which happened, for the most part, just before the travellers reached the places where they were performed, and accounts of shrines and relics, of which they saw the most astonishing quantities in every country which they visited. The dangers of the journey were neither few nor small. In those days it was worth while to travel. The pilgrim was encompassed by marvels on every side ; and he could scarcely pass from one village to another without being compelled to fight for his life. One cannot read the history of Herr von Rozmital and his gallant company without envying them those good old times, when the exceeding difficulty of defending life made life worth the having ; when the delights of compassing sea and land had not yet been annihilated by turnpikes, railroads, steamboats, and comfortable inns ; when banditti flourished, and the age of chivalry had not gone ; when picturesque tourists, and travelling cockneys, and fastidious dandies — such as now throng every thoroughfare in the world — still lay in their rudimentary and merely possible state, undeveloped by the force of civilization ; when a man, who set out on a journey of a few hundred miles, made his will, commended his soul to God, and, if he returned in safety, sang psalms of thanksgiving, was looked upon as a wonder, remained ever after the oracle of his neighbourhood, and was made at least a burgomaster of his native city.

Of the two journals which contain the travels and adventures of the Herr von Rozmital, one is in Latin, written originally in the Bohemian, by one of the company called Schaschek, or Ssassek. This was translated into Latin about a century afterwards, by Stanislaus Pawlowski, canon, and afterwards bishop, at Olmütz. The Bohemian original is now lost. The second is in German, written by Gabriel Tetzl, a good citizen of Nuremberg, who had been invited to accompany the mission. The manuscript of this journal was discovered in 1837, and belongs to the fifteenth century.

About the same time, the editor succeeded in obtaining possession of a copy of Pawlowski's Latin translation of Ssassek, and was thus enabled to publish the two documents together. On comparing them, they are found to agree in every important particular, and to differ chiefly in relating or omitting different incidents of the journey. A few slight inaccuracies in Gabriel Tetzels's story, such as substituting 1468 for 1467, the true date of the conclusion of the mission, show, in the opinion of the editor, that the Nuremberger's reminiscences were not reduced to writing until after his return ; and as he was made a burgomaster of Nuremberg in 1469, and died in 1479, there might have been, between the date of the journey and the date of the journal, an interval of nine or ten years. There is another characteristic difference between these two documents, which is worth stating. Whenever they describe a visit to a shrine or an assemblage of relics, the Bohemian gives a minute catalogue of these objects of superstitious veneration with the most solemn and unhesitating simplicity ; but Gabriel Tetzels, coming from an important commercial city, and having doubtless had his eyes opened by a more extended intercourse with the world, treats them with comparative indifference. Not that he casts any doubt upon their sacred character, — not at all ; but he dwells more lovingly on the knightly entertainments, the gold, and jewels, and precious stones, and especially on the “unspeakably rich meals” with which they were feasted from place to place.

The journal of Ssassek possesses almost an official authenticity from the circumstance, that in it are preserved all the letters of safe conduct granted to the Baron Rozmital by the monarchs through whose territories he passed. To illustrate the different styles of these two worthies, we take from each the description of the commencement of the journey. Ssassek thus begins : —

“In the year of our salvation, MCCCCLXV., the day after the festival of the blessed virgin Saint Catharine, the Lord Leo departed, and remained the first night at Pilsna (Pilsen), and there, with all his companions confessed his sins. The next night we passed at Tepla (Tepel), in the monastery ; thence we proceeded to Egra (Eger), and there stopped for the night. From Eger we went to Neustadt, thence to Paierreuth, — that town, belonging to the territory of the Marquis of Brandenburg, is situated in

Voigtland ; — from Pailerreuth to Gravenberg, from Gravenberg to Noriberga (Nuremberg). At Nuremberg we remained two days, and saw these sacred relics : first, there was shown to us the manger in which the mother of God placed the infant Jesus ; then, an arm of Saint Anna, and a tooth of Saint John the Baptist ; also, a piece of the wood of the holy cross on which Christ was crucified, and the right-hand nail with which the same was fastened to the cross. Afterwards, there was shown to us the sword of Saint Mauritius, and another sword, that of the Holy Emperor Charles, which is said to have been given to him by God from heaven, that he might use it against his enemies, the heathen ; *item*, his spurs, greaves, and boots. We saw afterwards the chains of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, who suffered for the name of God. Then we beheld the spear with which the blessed side of Christ was pierced. The priests placed our rings upon it, that whoever might be troubled with a pain or stitch in the side might have with him a certain remedy. Besides these, many other relics of the saints were shown to our lord and his companions, which are not noted down in this place. . . . . From Nuremberg we went to Hailsbruna (Heilsbronn,) a monastery under the authority of the Marquis. In that monastery, the blood of the Lord is not elevated when mass is performed ; wherefore I have not discovered. From Heilsbronn we proceeded to Anspach, where the Marquis has a palace ; in this place we remained for the space of two days. And there Johannes Zehroviensis (Johann von Kolowrat auf Zehrowitz, one of the train, of whom more hereafter) ran a tilt with Mirossius and both were thrown by each other's stroke from their horses. Frodner also tilted with one of the servants of the Marquis ; but both kept on their horses. The wife of the Margrave was a spectator, together with her maids, and illustrious and noble persons, and a multitude of men. The spectacle being over, the Marquis took my lord by the hand, led him with the rest of the company into the castle, and there honorably entertained him with dances, and other sports and spectacles."

So far the good Ssassek. Tetzal begins as follows : —

"The noble and well born lord, the Lord Leo von Rozmital, lord of Platten and Freyenberg, undertook to do a knight's journey, when were numbered after the birth of Christ a thousand four hundred, and in the six [mistake for five] and sixtieth year. Before Saint Catharine's day, he fared forth from Prague with two-and-fifty horses, and with a sumpter-wagon (*Kamerwagen*). And he took with him of the noblemen, Herr Jan Scrobitz Kollatbratt, a banneret, Herr Buyan von Schwanburck (Burian of Schwanberg), a banneret, Achacy (Achatz) Frodner,

a gentleman, Pyltepesky, a gentleman, Mirnyss, a gentleman, Pollack, a gentleman, Knysto, a gentleman; Indersyz, a gentleman; and three squires, among whom was a banneret's son; besides other chosen vassals. And he came to Greiffenberg on Saint Barbara's eve, and prayed me to ride with him to Nuremberg.

"And so, on the way, he spake to me of his journey; that he would visit all the Christian kingdoms, and all the principalities in German and foreign lands, both spiritual and secular, and especially that he would go to the Holy Sepulchre, and to the beloved Saint James (i. e. to Compostella).

"*Item.* At Nuremberg he entreated me much, through my friends, to go with him; and so I consented. He also remained several days in my house, and got himself ready, and clad himself and all his servants in red, in fine, costly velvet; he also took with him his cook, steward, and butler, and in all respects kept a princely state.

"After that, I entreated my lord that he would permit Gabriel Muffel to accompany him with a horse, and me with two.

"And so he departed one day before me to Nuremberg, and thence proceeded to Anspach. There Gabriel Muffel and I came to him.

"*Item.* At Anspach he remained several days. My lord, the Margrave Albrecht, paid him great honor, and gave him entertainment, and caused a dance to be made for him in the women's apartment. Achatz Frodner jousted with a Seckendorffer; Herr Jan Serobky and Mirusch, my lord's companions, they also jousted. We also must needs feast at the court, and he [the Margrave] paid for my lord, both for him and all that were with him at the inn [literally, ransomed him from the hostel].

"*Item.* We rode from Anspach to Feuchtwang and Keylsam (Greilsheim). My lord the Margrave appointed Wilhelm von Kersheim and Sebastian von Seckendorf to attend upon my lord; they rode with my lord, and paid for my lord's entertainment all the way through my lord the Margrave's territory.

"*Item.* Afterwards we rode into the land of Hohenlohe. There an ambush was laid to overthrow my lord; and when every one, my lord, nobleman, and page, must needs bear his arbalist on his saddle, then they thought we were too strong for them.

"And so we came to Öring (Oehringen). The 'Jung von Hohenlohe' came to my lord, and gave him much wild-boar's flesh and oats: he sent to my lord a servant, who rode with my lord to Hall and Wimpffen. A councillor presented my lord there with precious wine."

The party proceeded on their journey, through Heidelberg and the imperial city of Frankfort, to Cologne. At Cologne, says Tetzels,

“They furnished my lord with wine in vessels. The Bishop of Cologne made my lord his guest, him and all his retinue, gave him a very splendid banquet, and behaved very graciously towards him. My lord remained there several days. . . . Herr Jan Serobky Kolbart jousted with Achatz Frodner, and Gabriel Tetzels with the bishop’s steward, named Burkhart von Pfolheim. The bishop was also on the course. . . . At night, my lord invited many beautiful women, and had a dance at the council-house. . . . We saw the three holy kings, Saint Ursula’s head, with her companions’, and their bones, and many other great saints, who there lie buried, whereof it were much to write, and very many shrines, and saints who have suffered martyrdom there.

“*Item.* From Cologne we rode to Achen (Aix la Chapelle), to visit the shrine of our Blessed Lady. There the burghers of the city did my lord great honor and reverence, and sent him wine, and invited my lord to their council-house, and showed him many precious things. Also, they gave him a very costly collation which they had prepared for him. My lord bathed also in the warm bath, and they let him see many costly sacred vessels.”

Many of these vessels Gabriel proceeds to enumerate, as separate items, in the most matter-of-fact fashion. It is worth while to see how the pious Ssassek describes the visit to the same city.

“Here the three kings are buried, and Saint Ursula, with her companions, the virgins; and Saint Helena, who discovered the Holy Cross, and caused the Sepulchre to be rebuilt at Jerusalem; she also is entombed in the temple where the three kings lie buried. We were eight days at Cologne. On the second day, there were shown to us the three kings in the cathedral church, the body of Saint Veronica, and very many other relics. On the third day, we were led to the temple, where the blessed virgin Saint Ursula is buried, with eleven thousand virgins. The priests, by whom those relics were shown to us, affirmed, that, with those eleven thousand virgins, thirty-six thousand others were slain. Afterwards, we were conducted to a chapel, where single relics were enumerated, each by its own name. First, was shown to us Saint Ursula; then, a king of England, to whom Saint Ursula had been betrothed; the father and mother of the same king, whom Saint Ursula had converted to the Christian

religion ; afterwards, an Æthiopian woman, the daughter of a certain heathen king ; and very many other heads, hairs, legs, and arms, all of which it would be a great labor to enumerate one by one.

“ On the fourth day, my lord’s servants jousted ; Johannes Zehroviensis with Frodner, and Tacelius a Craffenberg (which is the Latin for our friend Tetzal) with one belonging to the retinue of the Bishop of Cologne. In the collision neither of them fell from his horse. On the day when these spectacles were exhibited, my lord gave orders to assemble the illustrious matrons and maidens. They came together in great numbers, and I saw many in that banquet, if I ever did anywhere. The feast was celebrated with various sports and dances. In the mean time, the matrons and the maids go to my lord, and humbly pray him, in the name of the bishop, that my lord, for the sake of the bishop, would lead down a dance with his companions after the manner of his country. My lord consenting, and beginning to lead the dance, four-and-twenty young men, each in complete armor, and holding torches in their hands, danced before him. These armed dancers were preceded by four-and-twenty others, each also bearing a torch in his hands. The dances being finished, various offerings of food and drink were brought to my lord. Then my lord, with his companions, was honorably conducted by the maids and matrons, even to his inn.”

Thus even the simple-hearted Bohemian could not resist the temptation to chronicle the merry-makings at Cologne, after he had satisfied his conscience by describing the relics of the saints ; while the more carnal-minded Gabriel Tetzal, having, according to his nature, first revelled in the recollection of the jousting and good cheer, was evidently a little pricked in conscience until he had set down, in his commercial, summary way, the saintly items of the account.

It would be pleasant to accompany our travellers through every step of their progress, for the whole journey abounds in quaint and whimsical incidents, highly characteristic of the age ; but we must hasten forward on the road to Brussels, where they found the Duke of Burgundy. There they saw excellent pictures, ascended the tower and had a noble view of the city, and were most honorable entertained. The son of the old Duke was absent on a military enterprise ; and our travellers were entreated to remain until his return. The arrival of the young prince was celebrated with equestrian and other chivalrous games, in which Johannes Zehroviensis took

part with his usual success. Johannes seems to have been the sturdiest champion of all the company ; whenever there was any jousting, tilting, wrestling, or real fighting to be done, Johannes was sure to have a hand in the business, and generally was more than a match for any antagonist that might be pitted against him. On this occasion, he was put up to wrestle with a brawny fellow, whose equal was not to be found in all the Duke of Burgundy's dominions. A great concourse of the most illustrious persons, including matrons and damsels, was drawn together to witness the spectacle. Johannes made little ado, and thrice threw his adversary as fast as he could get up. The spectators could scarcely believe their eyes ; and the Duke was so astonished, that he sent for Johannes, clad with the thorax only, just as he had wrestled, and scrutinized his whole body, feeling all his limbs, his feet, and his hands, and wondering greatly that his wrestler was beaten.

This scene so warmed up the courage of our pious Bohemian, Ssassek, that he approached the prince and thus addressed him : " Most illustrious prince, I entreat your Highness to assign me an adversary whom your Highness may judge to be my equal." We must give the result in the very words of our honest friend.

" When this was heard, the prince ordered some one to be sent for who should wrestle with me. We set to, and I at first threw him. But when, by the Duke's order, I closed with him a second time, I was thrown to the ground so hard that I thought the devil had got me. The wrestling-match being over, the Duke ordered wine and sweetmeats to be brought, and such a quantity was scattered over the pavement as scarcely could have been bought for many gold pieces. But the princesses gave me so much, that I got back with difficulty to the hostel ; for I was very drunk."

These were followed up by other sports and festivities. Of one of the feasts given by the Duke of Burgundy, Tetzelsays, " It was the most costly and splendid that I have ever eaten in all my days." But it will not do thus to linger on the way. They passed through Ghent and Bruges, and at length arrived at Calais, on their way to England. Thence they put to sea, but were driven back and detained three days by a violent storm. Tetzelsays, " One day God gave us the luck that we had a good wind, and that the master of the

ship was willing to proceed, and had already taken the ship out of port. Then my lord must needs sit in a small boat, and go out to the large vessel. Then there fell upon us the mightiest wind, that we were well-nigh drowned, and with great pains we got to the great ship. And had not Jan and Gabriel Tetzal done as they did, then would the Lord Leo, when he would go on board the great ship, have been drowned." However, they proceeded to cross the channel, and saw from a distance the "high, chalky hills" of England. "And the sea afflicted my lord and his companions so much, that they lay in the ship as if they were dead." They landed at Sandwich, and journeyed on to Canterbury, where they hastened to pay their respects at the shrine of Saint Thomas à Becket, "who," according to Ssassek, "was slain in that church, because he firmly resisted the unjust laws which King Henry enacted against the liberty of the Catholic church." The following are only a part of the relics they saw in that once famous sanctuary :—

"First, we saw the head-band of the Blessed Virgin, a piece of Christ's garment, and three thorns from his crown. Then we saw the vestment of Saint Thomas, and his brain, and the blood of Saint Thomas and of Saint John, the Apostles. We saw also the sword with which Saint Thomas of Canterbury was beheaded, the hair of the mother of God, and a part of the Sepulchre. There was also shown to us a part of the shoulder of the blessed Simeon, who bore Christ in his arms, the head of the blessed Lustrabena, one leg of Saint George, a piece of the body and the bones of Saint Laurence, a leg of the bishop St. Romanus, the cup of Saint Thomas, which he had been accustomed to use in administering the sacrament at Canterbury, a leg of the virgin Milda, a leg of the virgin Euduarda. We also saw a tooth of John the Baptist, a portion of the cross of the Apostles Peter and Andrew, a tooth and a finger of Stephen the Martyr, bones of the virgin Catharine, and oil from her sepulchre, which is said to flow even to this day, hair of the blessed Mary Magdalene, a tooth of Saint Benedict, a finger of Saint Urban, the lips of one of the infants slain by Herod, bones of the blessed Clement, bones of Saint Vincent. Very many other things were also shown to us, which are not set down by me in this place."

This Canterbury pilgrimage took place sixty-five years after the death of Chaucer. Having satisfied their pious curiosity, our wayfarers proceeded to London. Ssassek

says, "Though the kingdom is of small extent, it is exceedingly populous, and abounds in beautiful women and maids, whom we gazed upon when my lord was invited by the king to dinner." The hints of manners, and sketches of national peculiarities, which our travellers give in the portions of their journal occupied with England, are quite curious and entertaining. It was in the reign of the showy and pleasure-loving monarch, Edward the Fourth, and his second wife, the lady Elizabeth Woodville, that this visit was made. The first objects described by the Bohemian journalizer are of course the relics ; but he found so many of them in London, that he fairly gave up the attempt to record them all, in despair. Among the customs of the people which attracted his particular attention, one was, that, on the arrival of a distinguished stranger from foreign parts, maids and matrons went to the inn, and welcomed him with gifts ; another, that, when guests arrived at an inn, the hostess, with all her family, went out to meet and receive them, and the guests were required to kiss them all ; and this among the English was the same as shaking hands among other nations. "In no region," honestly adds our authority, "were we held in such honor as there." Erasmus, who was born the very year that Ssassek returned home, describes a similar custom as prevailing in England in his time, and bestows upon it his most decided approbation. "Our long hair," says Ssassek, "was a great astonishment to them ; for they declared that they had never seen any who excelled us in the length and beauty of the hair ; and they could by no means be made to believe that it was a natural growth, but they said it must have been stuck on with pitch. And whenever any of us thus long-haired appeared in public, he had more people to stare at him than if some strange animal had been exhibited." With regard to the entertainments, the Bohemian merely says, "My lord was kindly and magnificently treated, and all his companions, especially Schasco (Ssassek), both in the royal palace and elsewhere." For further information on these points, we must have recourse to Gabriel Tetzels :—

"Once upon a day," says he, "the king ordered us to be bidden to the court. Then the queen went in the morning from childbed to the church, with a splendid procession, with many of the priesthood, who bore the sacred vessels, and many scholars, who chanted, and all bore blazing torches. Thereafter came a

great troop of women and virgins, from the country and from London, who had been bidden. Then came a great number of trumpeters, and pipers, and others, players on stringed instruments. Then the king's musicians, about two-and-forty, who sang stately chants. Then about four-and-twenty heralds and pursuivants. Then about sixty earls and knights. After these went the queen. Two dukes preceded. A canopy was borne above her. After her followed her mother, and maidens and women, about sixty. And so she heard an office chanted, and when she had entered the church with the same procession, she returned to her palace. And all who had gone in the procession were bidden to remain to the banquet; and they were seated, women and men, spiritual and temporal, each according to his condition, four great halls full.

"And so they gave my lord, and his companions, and the noblest lords, an especial banquet in the hall and at the tables, where the king was wont to feast with his court; and the king's most powerful earl was commanded to sit at the king's table, in the king's seat, in his stead. And my lord also sat at the same table, two steps lower down, and no one beside sat at that table. And all the honor which was wont to be paid the king, with carving and offering of wine, and presenting of the viands, in all respects as if the king himself were seated there, was done to the earl in the king's stead, and to my lord, with so much splendor that what was consumed there surpasses belief.

"And while we feasted, the king gave largess to all the trumpeters, pipers, and players; and to the heralds alone he gave four hundred nobles. And all whom he had given largess to came to the tables and proclaimed aloud what the king had given to them. When my lord had now feasted with the earl, he led my lord with all his retinue into a hall most richly adorned, where was the queen, and she was just about to banquet. And so he placed my lord and his companions in a recess, that he might behold the sumptuousness.

"And so the queen sat down on a costly golden seat, at a table alone. The queen's mother and the king's sister must needs stand far down. And when the queen spoke with her mother, or with the king's sister, they always knelt before her, until the queen took water. And when the first dish had been set before her, then the queen's mother and the king's sister also sat down. And her women and maids, and all who served the queen at table, were all of powerful earls' families, and all must kneel as long as she ate. And she ate nigh three hours, and of many costly viands, which were set before her, and before her mother and the rest, whereof much might be written; and every one was still,

not a word spoken. My lord with his companions stood ever in the recess and looked on.

“After the banquet, there began a dance. The queen remained sitting on her chair. Her mother kneeled before her; at times, she bade her arise. Then the king’s sister danced a stately dance with two dukes, and the stately reverences which were made to the queen were such as I have never elsewhere seen paid by such surpassingly beautiful damsels. Among them were eight duchesses, and about thirty countesses, and all the rest the daughters of mighty men. After the dance, the king’s musicians were bidden to enter, and were commanded to sing. We also heard them when the king heard mass in his chapel, since my lord and his companions were admitted; and I think that there are no better singers in the world. Then the king permitted us to see his sacred vessels, and many saints who lie in London. And especially we saw a stone which was brought from the Mount of Olives, whereon was a footprint of our Lord, and a girdle and ring of our Lady, and many other sacred things.

“Afterwards, two earls invited my lord with his companions to their house. They gave us an unspeakably costly banquet, about sixty, according to their custom. There we saw the most sumptuous tapestries. Afterwards, my lord invited many earls and gentlemen to his house, and gave them a feast in the Bohemian fashion. They thought it very strange. My lord armed himself, and would fain have jousted with his companions; but the king would not permit it. And so my Lord Leo, Lord Frodner, and Gabriel Tetzels bestowed all their harness and steeds upon the king, and left all their jousting gear in England. After this, my lord took leave of the king, and the king paid for my lord at the hostel, and we were there about forty days.”

After these festivities in London were over, our pilgrims visited other places in England, under the conduct of a guide whom the king had granted them, “that they might see the kingdom.” It is impossible to describe the whole journey; but we must copy a few sentences from Gabriel Tetzels description of their visit to the Duke of Clarence, at Salisbury.

“He received my lord very joyfully, and paid him great honor and reverence. We remained there over Palm-Sunday, and beheld there the most splendid procession, how our Lord rode into Jerusalem. And the Duke himself went in the procession, and took my lord with him. After the service, my lord, with his companions, was bidden to a feast at court; and the Duke and my lord ate together, and my lord’s vassals with the counts and gentlemen. There they gave us an unspeakably costly ban-

quet, and we ate for about three hours ; and at the banquet they gave us a dish that should be fish, which was roasted, and formed like a duck. It has his wings, his feathers, his neck, his feet, and layeth eggs, and tasteth like a wild duck. This we were made to eat for a fish ; but in my mouth it was flesh ; and they say that it should be fish, because it grows first out of a worm in the sea ; and when it becomes great, it acquires a form like a duck, and lays eggs ; but it never hatches the same eggs, and is not itself produced therefrom, and seeks its food always in the sea, and not on the land. Therefore should it be a fish."

These curious birds are noticed by Ssassek. He says they are produced in the sea, and have no food except the air. From Salisbury they proceeded to Poole, called by Ssassek, Polla, and by Tetzal, Pülle, whence they embarked for Brittany. They not only had a stormy passage, but were attacked and captured by pirates, who, however, after detaining them half a day, and having learned the rank of their prisoners, and how many powerful kings and princes were their protectors, allowed them to continue the voyage. They were obliged to cast anchor at the isle of Guernsey, where they remained twelve days, but found nothing to buy for man or beast. Setting sail from Guernsey, they encountered a storm, which carried away the mast of the ship. They had much trouble with the horses, especially as they had provided themselves, when they left England, with food and drink, and fodder, only for four days, that being the time the passage would have occupied with a fair wind. After seventeen days of incredible hardship, they reached St. Malo, one of the principal cities in Brittany. From St. Malo they proceeded to Nantes, where they found the Duke of Brittany, Francis the Second, "who is a very handsome man. He paid my lord great honor, and showed my lord his wife with all her maids, who were extraordinarily beautiful, and sent my lord food and drink every day to the inn."

Thence they visited René of Anjou, the king of Sicily, whom they found in a "fair city, called Symell" (Saumur) ; and then proceeded to Orleans, visiting Louis the Eleventh, the king of France, whom they found at a small town not far from Saumur. They were most kindly received by him, and by the queen, "who, with all her maids, embraced my lord in her arms, and each one kissed

him on the mouth. So the king had ordered, and so would he have it. And she gave her hand to all his servants ; and the queen and her maids demeaned themselves very friendlyly towards my lord and his attendants. Afterwards, the king commanded a very sumptuous banquet to be prepared for my lord and his companions. And the splendid display of costly goblets and silver cups, and of sumptuous viands, and of mighty counts and lords who served at table, no man would believe."

Gabriel Tetzal gives some amusing particulars of the character and habits of the king ; but we must hurry forward with our travellers into Spain, which they entered by way of Biscay, towards the end of the month of June. This was thirty years before Ferdinand and Isabella had united the crowns of Castile and Aragon, and received from the pope the title of Catholic for having expelled the Moors. They pursued their journey, passing over high and difficult mountains, where "neither houses, men, nor cattle were to be seen" ; crossing rivers, where they had to fight their way through hostile Christians, Jews, and heathen ; enduring excessive heat ; their horses sickening, and "my lord's best stallion dying" ; until at length they arrived at Burgos. "The citizens," says Gabriel, "paid my lord great honor in that city, and gave him precious wine and sweetmeats ; and made for my lord, in the public square in the midst of the city, a baiting with wild bulls." Both Ssassek and Tetzal describe the bull-fight in nearly the same terms as would be used at the present day. They saw here, as elsewhere, many sacred relics ; but what especially excited their wonder was a crucifix in a church about a bow-shot from the city. The crucifix had a body upon it, of the stature of a tall man. The hair and nails of the body grew, and when the limbs were touched, they moved. It was made neither of wood nor of stone, and the body had in every respect the figure of a dead man. No man knew whence this wonderful crucifix was obtained ; according to the priests, it had been found at sea, about five hundred years before, by some Spanish sailors, who fell in with a galleon, on board which the body had been placed. Seeing it at a distance, they supposed it to be a pirate craft belonging to the Catalonians ("who," adds Ssassek, "although they are of the Christian faith, are great pirates notwithstanding, and are the terror of all") ; and they prepared for resistance. They cautiously approached

the ship, and seeing no one on board, thought at first it was a trick. They then sent a part of their crew in a small boat, who at last ventured into the galleon, but found only the cross and the body, which they carried with them to Burgos. According to Ssassek, the cross had wrought miracles two hundred years before, but had then wholly ceased its wonder-working agency.

Gabriel Tetzal is, for once, more credulous than the Bohemian. He gives some further particulars of the history of the cross, and states, that, according to the greatest masters, Nicodemus prayed the Lord, when he took him from the cross, that he might be permitted to make a cross like that on which the Lord was crucified ; that the crucifix appeared to him in the night, and he had kept it a long time in his possession, and always prayed before it. He further declares, that, on the day when he (Tetzal) saw the crucifix, *two* great miracles were performed. A child that had been dead two days, and a child that had broken both its legs, and a man that had St. Anthony's fire, were all made fresh and sound on that day.

There were many heathen in and round Burgos. "In the city," says Gabriel, "there is a mighty count, who asked my lord to his house, and also summoned many beautiful maids and women, who were very gorgeously clad in the heathen or Turkish fashion ; and the feast was arranged in every respect, with drinks and viands, after the manner of the heathen. The women and damsels danced a very stately dance according to the heathen way ; and they are all brown women, with black eyes, and eat and drink little, and like to see wayfarers, and are fond of Germans."

Proceeding on their journey from Burgos, they encountered many difficulties from the distracted state of the country, which was then torn by civil war. A bloody strife was waging between Henry the Fourth of Castile, and his younger brother, Don Alfonso. To visit the king, they

"Must ride where were nothing but heathen, over huge mountains, in great heat. And so we rode many days' journey ; and when we reached a market-place or village, they would not give us entertainment, but we were forced to remain in the fields in the open air. And if we would buy drink, or bread, or any thing else, we must give money for it beforehand ; and then they gave us a wine, that was brought over the mountains on mules,

in goat-skins, and was lukewarm. Would we have bread, they gave us meal weighed by the pound, and we poured water on it, and made it into cakes, and baked it in the hot ashes. Would we have any thing for the horses to eat, we must go out ourselves and cut it, and bring it in ; and if there was grain, we must pay dearly for it. If we would have flesh, nothing was to be found but goats' flesh, and we must skin and dress them ourselves, and buy every thing needful to cook them ; so that I think that the gypsies everywhere are much better kept than we were in that country. One very seldom finds hens, eggs, milk, cheese, or lard ; for they have no cows, and seldom eat flesh, and eat nothing but the fruits.

“ In Spain, when a resident nobleman rides over the land, he rides on a mule, and all his servants, often as many as thirty or forty, must run on foot as fast as their lord rides, often twelve or fourteen [German] miles (each equal to four English miles) in a day, and some of the servants run before him. And then, when he will eat, or take up his quarters for the night, they cook for him, and prepare for him to eat ; and what is left by their lord, the attendants must needs therewith be content. And one finds among them many a servant who runs day in and day out, so that he never walks. They are a folk that may well bear hunger and labor. And so we came many days' journey, with sore hardship and great uproar, which we must needs have with them. We must often defend us, life and limb, when we knew well that they lay in wait for us, and that they would fain have killed us all for our goods. And so we drew on, through a horrible waste and wilderness, to a count who held not with the old king, but with the younger. In those times, the two brothers were against one another, and either brother would be king in Spain, and some of the land held with the old king, and some with the young ; and there was much discord and war. And so we rode to a count who was with the young king. He was sore wroth, that my lord, without leave, had ridden into his land ; he conducted my lord to a knight who held with the old king. The same knight conducted my lord to a village, a mile away from a city which is called Gabryn, where was at the time the king of Spain. And so my lord tarried five days in the village, and sent the Lords Jan (Johannes), Frodner, Pittipeski, Muffel, and me to the king, that we should give the king to know of my lord's journey, and that he would also visit his kingdom, and prayed him for safe conduct. The king forthwith admitted us unto him, and he sat on the ground upon carpets, in the heathen fashion, and gave all of us his hand, and heard our prayer, and was joyful for my lord's coming, and said my lord must have patience in the village,

for it was full in the town, so that he could not lodge him there. But for love of my lord, he would journey to another city, four miles from Gabryn, and there would admit my lord to him, and graciously hear him. And he sent to my lord a knight, who should conduct him into the same city. And as the king was out of the city, the knight led my lord into the king's hall, which is exceeding sumptuously built; there the king had commanded a costly banquet to be prepared for my lord, and we tarried there two days. And a mighty bishop in the city, who was very powerful with the king, also bade my lord to his house, and did him very great honor."

At length, with much difficulty and many hardships, they reached Olmedo, where the king was then stationed. Here they were as well received by the king as, under existing circumstances, could reasonably have been expected. Our old friend, Johannes Zehroviensis, had a wrestling-match with a Spaniard, in the presence of three bishops and a large concourse of people. Johannes had his usual good-luck, threw his opponent, and sat on him when he was down; whereat the bishops and all the assembly marvelled, for their man was never beaten before. "The king," says Ssassek, "being informed of this affair, sent the same bishops and several knights to my lord, begging him to command Johannes to repeat the contest with another wrestler. Johannes refusing, my lord, unwilling that the bishops should be disappointed, commanded him to wrestle again with the same man. The wrestler laid Johannes very easily on the ground. The king, the bishops, and a great many people were present as spectators, and exulting with great joy, congratulated him for the victory."

Johannes was compelled to acknowledge, that he had never seen such a man as this Spaniard. Among other exploits, he laid his hand on the shoulder of Johannes, and with closed feet leaped over him, although the Spaniard was a very short man. Tetzal, speaking of the same adventure, says: "Herr Jan (Johannes) would not wrestle with him more, for he was much too strong for him, and was a short, thick man."

On the whole, our travellers formed quite an unfavorable opinion of Olmedo and its inhabitants.

"While we were with the king and his court," says Tetzal, "we had a great deal of uproar with the heathen, and must needs often defend both life and limb. Once they would

enter forcibly my lord's chamber; but we drove them out. Then arose a great tumult, and more than four hundred of them came to my lord's inn, and we drew our crossbows, and held the house against them with force; and they wounded some of our companions, and we wounded some of them. But with their bucklers they were too nimble for us."

Here we must accuse our friend Tetzal of a slight want of candor. The Olmedans were not quite so much to blame as he would make it appear. Honest Ssassek, who has as low an opinion of them as Tetzal, amidst the hard things he says, mentions a little incident suppressed by Gabriel, which puts the transaction in a very different light.

"Of this city," says he, "I have nothing else to write, save that it is inhabited by men worse than the very heathen; for when the priest elevates the body of our Lord in the mass, no one falls on his knees, but they remain standing like brute beasts. They lead an impure and Sodomitical life, so that I should be ashamed to mention their crimes. They even make a boast, that no city like it is found in all Spain, and I can easily believe the thing to be so. . . . Among them dwell many pagans, who are called Saracens; but which are the better, the pagans or the Christians, I could not easily decide.

"This insult, also, was put upon us. Johannes Zehroviensis, toying with a damsel at the inn, laid his hand upon her bosom, which a Spaniard seeing, swore at him in his own tongue; but we did not understand it. Johannes came up to him, gave him a blow, and tumbled him out of the hostel. Two hours afterwards, he attacked the house with about four hundred men whom he had collected, intending to slay us. The king, having heard of what had been done, immediately sent some noblemen to quell the tumult."

Ssassek describes a singular mode of inflicting the punishment of death, which he himself witnessed. The doomed man was placed upon a column, and shot at with arrows. The mark was placed on his right breast, and he who hit the nearest received twenty-four maravedis; he who missed was compelled to pay a gold piece. The money was afterwards spent in eating and drinking. "Whoever desires it," says he, "has permission to shoot; and it is discreditable to no one, but rather to his honor. I saw many miss the mark, and they were all required to pay down each a gold piece."

From Olmedo they proposed to visit the king's rival,

Don Alfonso ; but finding it impossible, on account of the displeasure which their visit to the king had excited in the prince's mind, they made the best of their way into Portugal. They passed through Salamanca, and, in speaking of the University, Gabriel says, "It is supposed there are not more learned people in Christendom than in that city." On entering Portugal, the country and the people seemed to them to be wretchedly poor ; "they found nothing to eat or drink for man or beast." There were no roads ; and it often happened that no traveller was seen for four or five years. The people dwelt in caves among the mountains, or under ground, and seldom went out, especially in the middle of the day, on account of the heat ; but labored and transacted their business mostly by night. They lived chiefly on fruits, and drank no wine. Our travellers suffered much from fatigue and hunger until they reached the city of Braga, "where," says Tetzels, "there is a powerful bishop, the friend of the king of Portugal. He paid great honor to my lord, and sent to my lord to the hostel enough of all that we needed, and sent to my lord a person to conduct him to Saint James." Ssassek states, that they found the king of Portugal at Braga, and that Leo had brought letters to him from his sister, the wife of the emperor, written by her own hand.

"In the city," says Gabriel, "my lord lost his cook ; and he did not come to us until we were at Saint James. Then we suffered much hardship, and ourselves must needs cook ; and often it came to such a pass, that we must, perforce, make our lodging under a tree in the open field, and secure our horses near us, like the gypsies. One ran and brought a sheep ; another must skin it ; some made the fire and cooked ; some cut grass for the horses ; my lord doing just like all the rest. And verily we had a hard and miserable life of it, until we came in three days to Saint James."

One of the principal objects of their pious pilgrimage was to visit Saint James of Compostella. But the church at this time was held in close siege, and it was with extreme difficulty that they obtained leave to enter and pay their devotions, of which Tetzels gives a very curious and interesting account ; but we have not space left to transfer it to our pages. From Saint James they went to Finisterre, which they call the *Finster Stern*, or the Black Star. This is the extreme western point of Portugal. The time of their visit

was more than thirty years before the voyage of Columbus and the discovery of the New World. "There," says Tetzal, "one sees nothing beyond, save the sky and sea; and they say that the sea is so stormy that no man may voyage over it; and no man knows what there may be beyond it. And it was told to us, that some had desired to find out what was beyond, and had fared forth with galleys and ships; but no one had ever returned." Ssassek says, that "nothing is to be seen beyond, but the waves and the sea, the end whereof God only knows." According to Tetzal, they saw the king again at Evora, whither he had fled from the pestilence; and the letters of the empress were delivered to him there. At an interview with the king at Braga, according to Ssassek, the following scene took place. The king had made a very complimentary speech, and promised to grant him whatever he would ask. The baron returned thanks for so great an honor, and entreated the king to bestow upon him two Æthiopians.

"The brother of the king, who was standing by, hearing the request, burst into a loud laugh, and said, 'Friend, what you ask for is of no importance; ask for something more valuable and more creditable than those Æthiopians. But since that is the only thing you request, I beseech you add to them a third gift from me; to wit, a monkey; and so you will return richly endowed to your country. Perhaps,' said he, 'you have no negroes and monkeys in your regions, and that is the reason you have asked for them before all other things?' When my lord said they were rarely seen there; 'Yet we,' replied the Duke, 'have great store of those things. The king here, my brother, possesses three cities in Africa, and his custom is to lead an army thither every year; and he never returns from an expedition, however slight, without bringing a hundred thousand or more Æthiopians, of every age and sex, and they are all sold like cattle; for the custom is for men to come together from other regions to buy them, and the king derives a larger income from the sale of them than from all the revenues of his kingdom. A little negro (*parvulus Æthiops*) fetches twelve or thirteen gold pieces of Portugal; but a grown-up one a much higher price.'

"And there is this custom," continues the journalizer, "that whoever has obtained a stout negro, and fit for labor, causes him to be baptized, and cannot sell him or alienate him, except he make him a free gift to a friend. But as long as the negro remains unbaptized, he has the right to sell him for as much as he can get."

They encountered many dangers on their return. They passed through the territory held by the pretender to the throne of Castile, through Merida, to Toledo ; thence, by way of Madrid, then a place of small importance, into Aragon. At Saragossa, they were received by King John the Second ; thence they journeyed through Catalonia, fighting their way to Barcelona. They passed on, by way of Perpignan, Montpellier, Nismes, and other cities, to Milan, where they were hospitably entertained by the magnificent duke, Galeazzo Maria. They visited Verona and Venice ; in the latter city, they were present at an assembly of the senate, and witnessed the method of voting. Thence they proceeded to Gratz, where the emperor, Frederic the Fourth, was then holding his court. Here they jousted ; but having left their harness in England, they were obliged to equip themselves in borrowed armor. They visited the empress at Neustadt, where they passed eight days in sports and revelry. The negroes and the monkeys, which they had brought from Portugal, gave the empress great delight. Leaving the empress, they experienced great difficulty from the hostile disposition of the king of Hungary ; but at length they reached Prague in safety, where they were received with joy and festivities, and were loaded with all the honors due to men who had performed such distant and perilous journeys.

Soon afterwards, Gabriel Tetzels returned to Nuremberg, where, as we have said, history informs us he was held in such high estimation, that he was raised in the following year to the dignity of burgomaster. The subsequent fate of Johannes Zehroviensis is involved in impenetrable obscurity ; perhaps his overthrow by the short, thick man in Spain broke his heart ; at any rate, his triumph appears to have ended there.

We must now take leave, however reluctantly, of this pleasant and worshipful company, with the single remark, that we have rarely met with a book which, by its quaint and picturesque simplicity, set before us the men and the manners of a past age so vividly and so truthfully as this.